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Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4430th meeting

Tuesday, 27 November 2001, 3.30 p.m.
New York

President:	Miss Durrant	(Jamaica)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	Colombia	Mr. Franco
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Ireland	Mr. Corr
	Mali	Mr. Touré
	Mauritius	Mr. Gokool
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	Ukraine	Mr. Kulyk
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Eldon
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

Security Council resolutions 1160 (1998), 1199 (1998), 1203 (1998), 1239 (1999) and 1244 (1999).

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01-65988 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Security Council resolutions 1160 (1998), 1199 (1998), 1203 (1998), 1239 (1999) and 1244 (1999)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Belgium and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Šahović (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) took a seat at the Council table; Mr. De Loecker (Belgium) took the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Hédi Annabi, Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Annabi to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

The Security Council will now hear a briefing by Mr. Hédi Annabi, Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations.

I give the floor to Mr. Annabi.

Mr. Annabi: I am pleased to provide members of the Security Council with an update on the developments in Kosovo since the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Haekkerup, briefed the Council last month. Members of the Council will also recall that, on 19 November, we provided a briefing on the partial results of the elections for the Kosovo Assembly. My briefing today will focus on the major developments leading up to the elections for the Kosovo Assembly, which were held on 17 November, including the signing of the common document, the election itself and the impending establishment of provisional self-government.

I shall first speak about the lead-up to the elections. The period leading up to the elections was relatively calm and free of violence. All parties, including the Kosovo Serb Return Coalition — albeit at the last minute — carried out rallies throughout Kosovo in a peaceful manner and largely adhered to the electoral rules. Infringements that went to the Election Complaints and Appeals Subcommission were relatively minor in nature and all were adjudicated in a timely manner.

The total number of eligible voters for the Kosovo Assembly elections was 1,250,318 — representing 1,108,787 in Kosovo, 105,159 in Serbia and Montenegro and 36,372 by mail. The United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) estimates that around 150,000 of the eligible voters were Kosovo Serbs. More than 1,300 candidates from 26 political parties contested the elections, including 60 from the Kosovo Serb Return Coalition, whose candidates were certified by the Central Election Commission on 15 November.

As the Council may recall, a common document was signed by UNMIK and the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on 5 November, the text of which has been made available informally to members of the Council. The aim of the common document was twofold: first, to provide the Yugoslav authorities with an authoritative list of measures that UNMIK had already taken, or was taking, to assist the Kosovo Serb community in order to make it easier to encourage Kosovo Serb participation in the 17 November elections; and, secondly, to provide a solid basis for a future cooperative relationship with the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It was the signing of that document that made it possible, in large part, for the Kosovo Serb Return Coalition to decide to participate in the elections and to provide its list of candidates.

Before agreement was reached on the final details, both the Yugoslav and Serbian Governments and President Koštunica announced, on 3 November, the decision to endorse the participation of Kosovo Serbs in the elections. At the same time, it was agreed that a memorandum of understanding would be signed with the respective commissariats for refugees, enabling UNMIK's third pillar — which, as the Council knows, is led by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe — to carry out the technical preparations for the elections in Serbia and Montenegro in conjunction with its implementing partner, the International Organization for Migration.

Since then the Contact Group on Missing Persons has completed a protocol on the exchange of forensic experts and expertise, and work is also continuing on all aspects covered by the common document, including security and efforts to ensure the transfer of Kosovo Albanian detainees held in Serbian prisons.

I will now move to the election itself. The Assembly election went very smoothly, leading the Council of Europe Election Observation Mission to conclude in its final report, "The whole election process was conducted in an efficient, democratic manner, largely free from intimidation and violence."

An encouraging factor was the level of domestic observation and participation in the electoral process by the Kosovars. There were 13,286 local observers from all communities, as well as several hundred observers from the Belgrade-based Centre for Free Elections and Democracy; they monitored both the ballot and the count. Members of all communities have also assisted in the counting of the ballots. A little-known fact is that one of the largest multi-ethnic initiatives to date is the Counting Centre team, which comprises 600 national staff from all communities.

The overall turnout was 64.3 per cent of Kosovo's 1.25 million registered voters. Based on the location of the polling stations, UNMIK estimates that the turnout in primarily Kosovo Albanian areas was about 65 per cent and that the turnout in non-Albanian areas was about 46 per cent. Kosovo Serb participation was patchy, with a higher turnout in the enclaves than in northern Mitrovica, due in part to an intimidation campaign in northern Kosovo led by those Kosovo Serbs who were against participation. Kosovo Serbs turned out in significantly higher numbers in both Serbia and Montenegro, where turnouts were assessed at 57 per cent and 56 per cent respectively. Given that the decision to participate was taken rather late and that UNMIK's institution-building pillar had only 12 days to prepare for elections in Serbia and Montenegro, this is considered to be a good result.

Mr. Haekkerup certified the results of the vote on 24 November. The final results are as follows: Mr. Rugova's Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) received 45.65 per cent, representing 359,851 votes; Mr. Thaci's Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK) received 25.7 per cent, representing 202,622 votes; in third place, the Return Coalition with 11.34 per cent, representing 89,388 votes; followed by Mr. Haradinaj's Alliance for the Future of Kosovo (AAK) with 7.83 per cent, representing 61,688 votes.

Seven smaller political parties, including three from the minority communities, received enough votes to obtain one seat each in the Assembly. These are the Vatan Coalition, a coalition of Bosniaks and Gorani; the National Movement for the Liberation of Kosovo (LKCK); the Turkish People's Party of Kosovo (KDTP); the Christian Democratic Party of Kosovo (PSHDK); the Justice Party (PD); the People's Movement of Kosovo (LPK); and the New Democratic Initiative of Kosovo (IRDK), which is a new Egyptian political party.

On the basis of these results, 14 parties will be represented in the Assembly, 11 through direct elections and 3 with set-aside seats. The seat allocation will be as follows: the LDK — 47 seats; the PDK — 26 seats; the Return Coalition — 22 seats, which include, as members of the Council will recall, the 10 seats set aside for the Kosovo Serb community in the Constitutional Framework; the AAK — 8 seats; VATAN — 4 seats, including 3 set-aside seats; the Turkish People's Party of Kosovo — 3 seats, including 2 set aside; the Ashkali Albanian Democratic Party — 2 set-aside seats; the New Democratic Initiative of Kosovo — 2 seats, including 1 set-aside; the National Movement for the Liberation of Kosovo — 1 seat; the People's Movement of Kosovo (LPK); the Justice Party — 1 seat; the Christian Democratic Party of Kosovo — 1 seat; and 1 set-aside each for the United Roma Party of Kosovo (PREBK) and the Bosniak Party of Democratic Action of Kosovo (BSDAK).

I would like now to give a brief outline of the next steps that UNMIK is contemplating. UNMIK now has to make sure that provisional self-government

becomes a reality, with all that this entails, including setting up Ministries, establishing a functioning local civil service and providing services for the incoming Assembly, including security for certain Assembly members.

The inaugural session of the Assembly is scheduled to be held on 10 December. Its first task will be to elect the presidency of the Assembly and the President of Kosovo, who will subsequently propose a candidate for Prime Minister.

It is clear from the results that no party will be able to govern alone, since 61 seats in the Assembly are required for a majority. Now that the results have been certified, negotiations have begun on coalition-building. All sorts of combinations of coalitions are being speculated about. It seems likely, however, that the LDK will be part of whatever coalition emerges.

In conclusion, UNMIK and we are satisfied, of course, with the way the whole election process in Kosovo has unfolded. This applies to the violence-free campaign, to the complex preparations that went into ensuring their smooth conduct and to the all-inclusive nature of the elections, which we believe will provide a solid basis for the institutions of provisional self-government that will now be established in accordance with Security Council resolution 1244 (1999).

It is also gratifying that members of the minority communities turned out in significant numbers, contrary to what had happened during the municipal elections last year. Their elected representatives must now take up their rightful place in the provisional institutions and work together to show all communities that participation in the democratic process can yield tangible results.

The impending establishment of provisional self-government will be a major step forward. As Mr. Haekkerup outlined to the Council last month, UNMIK is working to ensure that the transfer of authority will be as smooth as possible, while UNMIK will retain, of course, an advisory and monitoring capacity in those areas handed over to the provisional self-government. The onus is now largely on the incoming Kosovo administration to make provisional self-government work, to show that democracy can work and to show that it is possible to bridge the inter-communal divide.

The President: Let me thank Mr. Annabi for his briefing.

Mr. Touré (Mali) *(spoke in French)*: First of all, I would like to thank the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. Hédi Annabi, for the very useful information he has shared with us about the ballot organized on 17 November 2001 in Kosovo, by which the province provided itself with democratic institutions. It is clear that this vote, designed to elect the Kosovar parliament, gave all the communities of Kosovo the chance to build a truly democratic, multi-ethnic and prosperous society.

My delegation welcomes the successful holding of the elections, the high level of participation — 63 per cent — and the mobilization of the minority communities, which met expectations. The positive climate in which the elections took place shows that Kosovo is evolving in the right direction to overcome the traumas of the recent past. The entry of the Serb community in the political life of Kosovo, with nearly 11 per cent of the vote, is a very positive sign that shows that the Serbs wish to take part in the development of Kosovo.

In this regard, we are glad to be able to salute the maturity and sense of responsibility that the people of Kosovo have shown in the holding of the legislative elections, which without question were a decisive turning point in the democratic evolution of the province. The delegation of Mali hopes that the new institutions that have thus been created will promote reconciliation between the Serbs and the Albanian-speaking population by encouraging the members of the two communities to work together. We invite the new Kosovar administration to concentrate on reconstructing the economy, combating crime and raising the standard of living while strictly abiding by the constitutional framework of the provisional self-government.

Finally, we believe that the time has come for placing the interests of Kosovo above those of the political parties. From this perspective, Security Council resolution 1244 (1999) should continue to be the main thread of all policies on Kosovo.

Mr. Shen Guofang (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): At the outset, I would like to thank the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. Annabi, for his briefing.

The Chinese delegation wishes to express its satisfaction at the smooth carrying out of the elections in Kosovo as scheduled. These elections are an important step in the peace process in Kosovo. We commend the Government of the Federal Republic of

Yugoslavia for its efforts to encourage the Serbs to participate in the elections. We also wish to commend the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) for their efforts in monitoring and preparing for the elections. We are looking forward to the elected assembly playing its due role.

In our view, the main question that Kosovo now faces is whether the leaders of the various ethnic groups can put past enmities behind, set aside their differences, establish a broad coalition Government that represents the interests of all the ethnic groups, ensure the ethnic diversity of Kosovo and the stability of the communities, and discuss together a broad future plan for the development of Kosovo. We hope that the elected leaders of the various ethnic groups can take stock of the overall situation, effectively carry out their functions under the leadership of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, work to establish trust between the communities, bring about national reconciliation and lay the foundations for the economic revitalization of Kosovo and the long-term stability of that region.

At the same time, UNMIK should make further efforts in combating crime, improving the security environment in Kosovo, promoting national reconciliation, establishing mutual trust and assuring the safe return of refugees and continue to strengthen cooperation and coordination with the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The peace in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is still very fragile. The situation in Kosovo still directly affects peace and stability in Macedonia and the whole Balkan region. UNMIK still needs to carry out effective measures to curb the illegal flow of arms on the Kosovo-Macedonian border and cut off the source of arms for the illegal armed groups. In this respect also, the elected leaders of Kosovo should assume their responsibilities.

Mr. Jerandi (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): I would like to thank Mr. Hédi Annabi for his excellent statement on recent developments in Kosovo.

My delegation would like to begin by congratulating the people of Kosovo on the success of the elections. The holding of the elections in an atmosphere of healthy rivalry and fair competition is encouraging in many ways. The participation by all parties, including minority ones, and the absence of violence that characterized the overall process allows us to be optimistic about the future of Kosovo, and offers, in our view, a real opportunity for reconciliation and multi-ethnic peaceful coexistence for all people in the province. Now it is up to the Kosovars themselves to seize this opportunity, to translate it into deeds and to benefit politically, economically and socially from this new reality.

We think the elections are an important stage in the implementation of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999). It will also make it possible to set up the democratic institutions of self-government in accordance with the provisional constitutional framework set up, in agreement with the parties, by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).

We congratulate the newly elected members of the legislature in Kosovo, which enjoys wide, indisputable legitimacy from the polls. The turnout of 63 per cent shows that the people of Kosovo want to build a prosperous and multi-ethnic future for all inhabitants in the province. In this regard, we hope to see the new chamber work for greater harmony among the various ethnic groups of the society in Kosovo. The first role that this assembly must assume is to bring about a meeting of the minds, reduce differences and do away with the enclaves that continue to hinder the process of reconciliation. The participation of the minorities in the elections, particularly the Serb minority, should be echoed by the majority and should allow them to be fully involved in public life in Kosovo.

My delegation notes with satisfaction — and I am sure that you, Madam President, are pleased — that 34 women were elected to the legislative assembly. The presence of women is particularly important in that it means that women will now be shouldering a important part of the responsibility for building a better future for the children of Kosovo.

My delegation welcomes the work done by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo in preparing for and holding the elections. Once again, our Organization has demonstrated that it is fully capable of managing difficult situations. Following the United Nations success in organizing elections in East Timor, it has now demonstrated its success in holding the elections in Kosovo. The

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, NATO and other international organizations on the ground have, for their part, made important efforts to ensure the success of the operation.

In conclusion, I would like to pay tribute to Mr. Haekkerup, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and head of UNMIK, and all of his team for their excellent work in preparing for the elections and for the promising results that were obtained.

Mr. Franco (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): I would like to welcome Mr. Annabi and thank him for the information he has given us at this meeting. I should also like to take this opportunity to send a message of congratulations to all of the officials of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), KFOR and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) for the excellent work that they did on 17 November on the general elections. Thanks to this work, and particularly to the determination of the people of Kosovo openly to express their support for the creation of democratic institutions, the international community today has higher hopes for the future of Kosovo.

The results of the elections demonstrate the commitment of the population to moving forward on a democratic path and within the parameters established in the Security Council's resolutions and by the Constitutional Framework adopted a few months ago. The road will not be easy. Obstacles and differences will emerge to complicate the process, not only for the leaders who will have to overcome them, but also for the voters, who will have to remain actively present in order to ensure that their expectations are met.

For Colombia, it is important to know that this entire process can count on the leadership of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Haekkerup, which provides a guarantee of success in the face of great challenges, as was demonstrated in earlier phases.

The results of the 17 November elections have raised some challenges. First, the international community, through the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and KFOR, must ensure compliance with resolution 1244 (1999) and the Constitutional Framework. This will require it to take a firm stance vis-à-vis any possible violations of provisions of those two documents and to demonstrate flexibility with respect to the application and implementation of those provisions. It is important for the international community gradually to grant greater freedom to those who will lead the new institutions so as to guarantee that the emerging democratic structure will be deeply rooted and not depend on the supervision of third parties over its functions in the future.

Secondly, the commitment of elected leaders and the population at large is to achieving a multi-ethnic Kosovo. This means that, although KFOR remains responsible for ensuring the security of minorities, it is the obligation and responsibility of all to ensure that their rights are respected. Now more than ever, we must see a proactive attitude on the part of the leaders to that effect. We cannot continue to tolerate the discrimination targeted daily against minority groups or the functioning of parallel administrative structures. All citizens of Kosovo must commit themselves to working with UNMIK and KFOR to build a truly pluralistic society.

Thirdly, the elected leaders must abandon their own agendas and begin to work to create solid institutions that can lay the foundations of an increasingly autonomous Government, as stipulated in resolution 1244 (1999). It is still far too early to think about the final status of the province. Focusing our efforts on that will only weaken the emerging democratic process and dash people's hopes.

Fourthly, relations between Belgrade and the new Government of Kosovo are essential, as the elected leaders must understand. Accordingly, we recommend that UNMIK continue to strengthen those relations, as it has done recently.

Fifthly, the representatives of the minorities face a great challenge in promoting their opinions and defending the interests of the population they represent. This road will not be easy and it is therefore important that they remain faithful to their ideals and that they can rely on the support of the international community in bringing those ideals to fruition.

We wish once again to congratulate all the people of Kosovo on the democratic example they have set for the international community. We invite them to continue along this path.

Mr. Mahbubani (Singapore): We, too, would like to thank Mr. Hédi Annabi for his comprehensive briefing. We also want to join our colleagues in

congratulating the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Haekkerup, the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) on the successful conduct of the Kosovo-wide elections. They were relatively free of violence and vote-tampering.

However, while the elections saw a credible 64 per cent participation rate across all ethnic communities, it is notable that there was apparently a reduction in the voting of the ethnic Albanians. I do not know whether Mr. Annabi can explain to us if there is a specific reason for that.

Also noteworthy is that only 46 per cent of the entire Serb community voted. This figure would have been even lower had not President Koštunica and the Governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia encouraged the Kosovo Serbs to vote. We would like to thank them for doing their part. At the same time, precisely because of this, what the low-level ethnic Serb participation also shows is that not all the necessary conditions were fully in place for their full participation. Perhaps the security and freedom of movement of ethnic Serbs in Kosovo and the return of Serb refugees could be improved. We hope that UNMIK, KFOR and the ethnic Albanian leaders will work harder to improve these conditions.

The aim must be to ensure substantial ethnic Serb participation in the self-governing institutions in Kosovo. As I think was mentioned by Ambassador Franco a few minutes ago, we have to create a multi-ethnic Kosovo. The problem we face, of course, is that the social fabric of Kosovo, as we all know, has been damaged. There seems to be more separation and partition than integration. The question is whether or not we can do something about this.

With the elections over, a significant stage has been reached in the implementation of resolution 1244 (1999). We acknowledge that much more needs to be done before UNMIK and KFOR can be said to have fulfilled their mandates under the resolution. We further recognize that UNMIK and KFOR have to stay until Kosovo is out of the woods, so to speak — that is, until it cannot slip back into another conflict. This is the essence of peace-building, and not whether or not an entity gains independence. In fact, the final stage of UNMIK's responsibilities under resolution 1244 (1999) is to oversee

> "the transfer of authority from Kosovo's provisional institutions to institutions established under a political settlement". (*res. 1244 (1999), para. 11 (f)*)

Of course, the problem we have in the case of Kosovo — and this is a great handicap — is that we still have no idea what the final political settlement will look like. It may therefore be timely for the Security Council to take a long-term view of the Kosovo issue and to see whether or not we can define a clear exit strategy for Kosovo.

Indeed, some Council members have stressed the need to apply the presidential note (S/2001/905) on the question of "No exit without strategy", and we agree that Kosovo is as good a test case as any. Indeed, in paragraph 3 of the presidential note, the Security Council agreed that it was essential that clear direction should be given and milestones established that support a comprehensive and integrated approach to peace-building, where peace-building is appropriate, as well as the operation's exit strategy.

Now that Kosovo has crossed one major hurdle, it would perhaps be useful for the Council to be briefed at some point by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and by UNMIK on their initial thinking on the peace-building and exit strategies for Kosovo, specifically on the next steps in gradually downsizing and finally withdrawing the international presence, on the benchmarks, and on how long each step will take.

The first of these steps is actually very clear, and I am glad that Mr. Annabi spoke about the next steps. It is clear that, here, one of UNMIK's responsibilities is to arrange for the transfer of its administrative responsibilities while overseeing and supporting the consolidation of Kosovo's local provisional institutions, along with other peace-building activities. In a pertinent list of recommendations in its report on Kosovo's landmark election, the International Crisis Group stated that

> "UNMIK should allow the new self-governing institutions as free a rein as possible to govern within the parameters laid down in the Constitutional Framework. The institutions should have the opportunity to learn by their mistakes and to grow in responsibility and effectiveness."

We heard Mr. Annabi say that that is what is going to be done, and we are pleased that there is movement in that direction. But it is also important to bear in mind that this is not merely a case of transferring administrative responsibility; it is also a case of allowing the local population to involve itself in more decision-making. We believe that this can change the political chemistry and can stabilize the situation in Kosovo even further.

We also note that, in resolution 1244 (1999), the Council decided that UNMIK should facilitate "political process designed to determine Kosovo's future status, taking into account the Rambouillet accords" (*para. 11 (e)*). That is one of the final-status provisions in the resolution. However, while those accords call for the convening of an international meeting three years after the entry into force of the accords to determine the mechanism for a final settlement for Kosovo on the basis of the will of the people, resolution 1244 (1999) was silent on that. I wonder whether anyone has given any thought to when such an international meeting will be convened.

One reason for us to focus on this is that, as we all know, immediately after the elections, Ibrahim Rugova, the leader of the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), which won the most seats in the Kosovo Assembly, reiterated his call for independence for Kosovo. If a rough time frame for the final settlement for Kosovo is not set, some problems could worsen. Hence, the International Crisis Group, in the same report from which I quoted earlier, stated the following:

> "it is unrealistic to expect Kosovo Albanian leaders or voters to shelve the one overriding issue that really matters to them. ... [The] newly elected officials will be unlikely to accept for long the straitjacket imposed by the unelected international administration. Albanian anger over UNMIK's agreement with Belgrade to obtain support for Serb participation, added to impatience with the slow progress towards independence, may be a precursor to more strained relations between UNMIK and the Albanian parties after the election."

Clearly, we do not want to see an unhappy result after the elections, and we should give some thought to how to prevent such an unhappy event.

Let me stress here that we are not calling for any kind of premature exit from Kosovo of the international presence. We are cognizant of the dangers that that would entail for the stability of Kosovo and of the region. We have stated many times that the eventual termination of the international presence must be gradual and carefully structured to bolster, not undermine, the painstaking progress that has been achieved. Indeed, to quote the presidential note on "No exit without strategy" again,

> "The Security Council agrees that a major criterion for the Council's decision on the scaling down or withdrawal of a peacekeeping operation is the successful completion of its mandate, resulting in the establishment of a requisite political and security environment conducive to durable peace and/or a follow-on post-conflict peace-building process". (*S/2001/905, para. 6*)

That applies to Kosovo as much as it applies to other issues before the Council.

Since we have spoken quite a bit about the exit strategy dimension, we wanted to cite some remarks made in our 15 November 2000 debate on that subject. One of the most thoughtful interventions was made by Ambassador Jean-David Levitte — I am sorry he has left the Chamber. I would like to quote something he said then:

> "[The] Security Council has established some important, even decisive, operations — I am thinking of Kosovo and Timor in particular — and it must be able to terminate them without risking the future of the peoples concerned". (*S/PV.4223, p. 6*)

And he went on to observe that "Persistence is often a key element of success" (*p. 7*).

However, in our view, as with all peacekeeping operations, the Security Council must be clear about what the conditions are for the scaling down and withdrawal of the international presence and when those conditions have been met. In the November 2000 debate, Ambassador Levitte referred to the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic, and he said that

> "the Group of Friends established a series of criteria, benchmarks to assess the Mission's performance.... Even if these criteria were imperfectly met, they provided both a road map

> describing the objectives for durable stabilization of the situation, and a kind of tracking board making it possible to assess the results and adjust the operation's duration and mandate" (*p. 7*).

Ambassador Levitte concluded his statement in that debate by saying that

> "the very image of the United Nations depends on our capacity to successfully manage exit strategies for peacekeeping operations, which our Council is mandated to lead to success" (*p. 8*).

We completely agree with the sentiments expressed by Ambassador Levitte in that debate, and we hope that they will be applied systematically to all the operations in which the United Nations is involved.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): I am grateful to the Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, Mr. Hédi Annabi, for his briefing.

We are following closely developments in the political situation in Kosovo following the Kosovo-wide elections of 17 November. Unfortunately, we have to say that, at this stage, the task of turning Kosovo into a democratic, multi-ethnic society is still essentially seen as being of secondary importance in the programmes of the main Kosovo Albanian parties, which as a result of the elections now have a legitimate basis on which to exercise a decisive influence on the political life of the province. All those parties continue to say that their main objective is the swift attainment of independence for Kosovo.

Hence, we cannot simply wait for democracy to arise automatically in Kosovo. The November elections, and indeed last year's municipal elections, simply confirmed that. Ethnic discrimination continues in Kosovo, and as in the past this has ramifications of extremism and terrorism that extend into neighbouring countries. Moreover, crime is on the rise. The United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the Kosovo Force (KFOR) must focus their attention on this issue.

As a positive matter, we note that there was a fairly high level of participation in the elections by the Serb population, both those who remained in the province and those who were forced to leave in the wake of the ethnic cleansing carried out by Albanian extremists. We view that Serb participation in the elections as an indication of their determination to participate more actively in the political life of Kosovo and, through legitimate means, to restore the multi-ethnic nature of the province, ensuring that it develops along a truly democratic path as a part of Yugoslavia.

Primary responsibility for further progress towards a settlement in the province lies with the international presences, primarily the United Nations Mission there, which will have to fulfil its obligations under the common document of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and UNMIK, in accordance with resolution 1244 (1999).

We also think that the time has come to look at the situation in Kosovo in a more sober manner, through the prism of what the international presences will have to focus its future activities on: ensuring genuine security there; creating conditions for the return of refugees and displaced persons; finding out what happened to those who were abducted and to the missing; and ensuring access to the basic services of any civilized society — education, healthcare, culture, information — for all inhabitants of the province, regardless of their national or religious origins.

There is also a new problem that UNMIK and KFOR cannot ignore. We drew attention to a media report that Ibrahim Rugova, just a few days ago, said that he intended to deliver to the Security Council information on preparations in Kosovo by terrorists, including Chechen terrorists. There are also suspicions that those terrorists had contact with persons related to Osama bin Laden. In this connection, we would note that the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia has so far not begun any investigation of members of the so-called Kosovo Liberation Army, who committed crimes against Serbs inside Kosovo after the deployment there of the international presence in June 1999.

We do not exclude either the possibility that many former terrorists may try to join the Kosovo-wide institutions currently being created. It is the direct responsibility of UNMIK to ensure that this does not happen. Resolution 1244 (1999) directly prohibits participation in the political life of Kosovo on the part of those who have been involved in terrorist activities. Before the 17 November elections, the leadership of UNMIK confirmed that they were not aware of the presence of any terrorists in Kosovo, but that they were willing to investigate any possible indications of such presence. Such information has now appeared, and we

expect UNMIK to discharge its responsibilities by doing what it said it would.

Today — and before 17 November — the priority task is to establish constructive interaction between the international presences, the Yugoslav authorities and the representatives of the Kosovo people in the new, elected institutions of the province. Holding the elections was not the end, but only the beginning, of the serious work of building a democratic and multi-ethnic Kosovo in strict accordance with resolution 1244 (1999), including respect for the sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

We believe this is how the situation is regarded by the leadership of the United Nations Secretariat, UNMIK and KFOR.

Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh): Special thanks are owed to Mr. Hédi Annabi for updating us on the elections. We also appreciate his briefing us on the post-election scenario.

We are pleased that the long-awaited elections for forming a provisional self-government in Kosovo have taken place on schedule. We are also happy that this has happened without any untoward incident. Politically motivated violence in the run-up to the elections was minimal, as were incidents on election day. These are indications of the success of the difficult task that was given the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). We applaud them, as we do Mr. Hans Haekkerup, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

The minority communities in Kosovo have considered these elections important. For that reason they turned out in significant numbers for the voting. The participation of Kosovar Serbs was an expression of the importance they attached to the mandate of the provisional self-government. This is a significant advance on the earlier boycott by the Serbs of the municipal elections last year. There is an obvious realization on the part of the minority communities that a democratically elected, pluralist government is the only way to secure a better future. We see this as a welcome development. UNMIK has undertaken laudable efforts in reaching out to Kosovo Serbs, particularly those living outside Kosovo. They raised awareness among them of the electoral system and the importance of ethnic representation in the new Assembly, and have encouraged their participation in both the registration process and the elections themselves. UNMIK has also worked to demonstrate to the Kosovo minority communities the benefits to be derived through engagement in community life and in the electoral process. Obviously, these endeavours have paid off — a fact reflected in the Serb participation.

This is a major milestone for Kosovo in its march towards peace. The democratic process began with the holding of municipal elections last year. A representative government with broad participation of all ethnic communities and based on greater tolerance and mutual accommodation of different ethnic entities is the only option for a peaceful future in Kosovo. UNMIK took a number of important steps to ensure security in the pre-election phase. These measures will continue to be important in the post-election period as well. Some time will be needed for a stable institutional structure to emerge. It is important that vigilance be maintained to avoid violence and to allow the structure to take firm root.

A major responsibility devolves on the community leaders in Kosovo, particularly on those from the major ethnic communities, to forcefully voice their support for the process and to refrain from any kind of violence. A number of difficulties still lie in their path. These can be resolved only through a constructive engagement of all ethnic communities in a way that protects the interests of all. The guidelines established by resolution 1244 (1999) should be foremost in these inter-communal dialogues. This is an important point we wish to flag.

The Kosovar political leadership should bear in mind that peace in Kosovo, as well as in the greater region, hinges upon tolerance and the mutual accommodation of different ethnic entities. Despite some progress in this regard, mistrust is still widespread and ethnically-targeted violence still active.

We would encourage UNMIK and the Kosovar leadership to support the civil society organizations, including women and non-governmental organizations, in creating what we seek: a state of harmony and diversity. The only practical way to go is to significantly improve the environment so that all communities feel safe and secure. This will lay the foundation of a truly multi-ethnic Kosovo and help build a structure of peace and stability in a society that has suffered much and long.

Mr. Gokool (Mauritius): I join all the delegations in thanking Mr. Hédi Annabi for his very useful

briefing. We have noted with satisfaction the large turnout of voters for the elections and the efficient manner in which the whole process was conducted. My delegation pays tribute Mr. Hans Haekkerup for his excellent coordinating role with other organizations for the smooth running of the elections in Kosovo. We also commend all the men and women of KFOR and the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) for their contribution.

We also need to congratulate the people of Kosovo on their commitment to democratic norms. The large-scale participation of the minority communities, despite the intimidation campaigns in some areas of Kosovo, has demonstrated the Kosovars' determination in shaping the future of their province. We are confident that the elected representatives will work together in the institutions of the provisional self-government to bring stability and economic and social reconstruction to Kosovo. We hope that the legislative Assembly of Kosovo will soon start its session to tackle the huge tasks that lie ahead of it.

My delegation feels it is necessary to remind the elected political leaders of their responsibilities to respect fully all provisions of resolution 1244 (1999), in particular the final status provisions. Any attempt to change the status of Kosovo would go against the commitments made under the relevant Security Council resolutions and other agreements, the most recent one signed in Belgrade earlier this month.

The provisional self-government of Kosovo will not function effectively without the participation of all minority communities. It is therefore incumbent on the elected representatives to work together, creating conditions for a peaceful and normal life for all inhabitants of Kosovo. We hope that the momentum that has been created during the voting period will be maintained to consolidate the smooth transition to provisional self-government.

My delegation calls on all those who fled their homes during the crisis to return to the province. In the same vein, we urge political leaders to create the necessary conditions for the safe return of displaced persons and refugees to their homes in Kosovo. UNMIK and KFOR should therefore continue to ensure the safety of all citizens of Kosovo, especially in the Mitrovica region, where the situation remains very fragile. For these people to return to their homes, there is a need for reconstruction of key infrastructures. We call on UNMIK to enhance the efforts of its economic reconstruction pillar to complete work already started to this end. We commend the donors in their efforts and encourage them to continue supporting the reconstruction programmes.

Finally, my delegation believes that it is now up to the people of Kosovo, especially the minority communities, to show their determination to participate in the public life of Kosovo.

Mr. Kulyk (Ukraine): I would like to thank Assistant Secretary-General Annabi for his lucid briefing.

Allow me to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the outstanding efforts of the men and women of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), who, together with other representatives of the international community in the province, helped make the news, reported by Mr. Annabi, good and encouraging. My delegation commends the important activities of the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and KFOR, which have ensured a peaceful and secure environment.

The situation in Kosovo and the results of the parliamentary elections in the region were a matter of close attention in my country. I wish to quote the statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, which conveys the essence of our reaction to the Kosovo-wide elections.

> "Ukraine welcomes the parliamentary elections in Kosovo, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, held on 17 November 2001.
>
> "Ukraine highly appreciates the calm and businesslike atmosphere of the elections, as well as the participation in the voting of representatives of the national minorities of the province, which was promoted by the constructive approach of the leadership of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.
>
> "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine expresses hope that the development of democratic institutions that will be established upon the results of the elections will pave the way for the normalization of the situation in Kosovo.
>
> "We believe it will also promote a constructive dialogue between the social and

political forces of the province on the basis of the preservation of the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia, in accordance with Security Council resolution 1244 (1999), which should eventually lead to the strengthening of a multi-ethnic and democratic Kosovo within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as well as to peace and stability in the Balkans".

In addition to this, I would like to make a few points.

The Kosovo-wide elections of 17 November demonstrated the growing political maturity of the population, which, in the first place, seeks the way to a normal life.

Now the Kosovo leaders should assume major responsibility for the future political, economic and social life of the province, while exercising their authority in strict adherence to Security Council resolution 1244 (1999) and the Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government.

Undoubtedly, these elections should be considered the beginning of a difficult road that should lead to a new, democratic and multi-ethnic Kosovo. On this road, the new administration could be challenged by the dangerous temptations of political euphoria, geopolitical "creativity" and illusions, which could provoke irrelevant statements and unconsidered decisions.

The major problem for Kosovo is the challenge of coexistence. My delegation believes that the political wisdom of the elected political forces will help prevent negative developments. What is really needed today is to focus efforts on the urgent issues on the Kosovo agenda. There is an urgent need to strengthen and further develop close and cooperative ties with the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We also call upon the elected Kosovo leaders to pay special attention to the displaced persons and to ensure their freedom of movement and return.

For centuries the history of the Kosovo and Metohija region has been one of political, military and cultural clashes, emotional turmoil and human despair. Now it fully depends on Albanians and Serbs, Bosniacs and Turks, Romas and Ashkalis, whether the lessons learned will become the treasure of the future or the burden of the past. We hope that the democratic tendencies in Kosovo will give the necessary and encouraging regional message. A stable and prosperous Balkans as an integral part of the European orchestra can be built only through the democratic means of dialogue and inter-ethnic tolerance.

Ms. D'Achon (France) (*spoke in French*): First I wish to thank Mr. Hédi Annabi for his briefing on recent developments and new prospects in Kosovo. The representative of Belgium will speak on behalf of the European Union at this meeting. France, of course, associates itself unreservedly with that statement; I will limit myself to some specific comments.

The elections of 17 November in Kosovo were a success. They were a success for the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and KFOR, whose joint action made it possible for the election to take place in exemplary circumstances. Security was ensured. The organization was remarkable. Evidence of this was the voting of displaced persons in Serbia and Montenegro, which was able to be prepared in less than two weeks, thanks to the effective contribution of the OSCE. Moreover, the painstaking efforts of UNMIK since last spring were able to convince the Kosovars of the importance of the stakes associated with these elections.

But this success belongs primarily to the Kosovars themselves, regardless of ethnic origin. They went together to vote in numbers, peacefully and responsibly, to choose the representatives of the Kosovo Assembly, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government. In so doing, they made it possible for an important step to be taken in implementing resolution 1244 (1999).

Now we must bring all of this to fruition. Through the institutions that will be put in place following the elections, all segments of the population will have to work to construct a democratic, pluralistic and prosperous Kosovo.

In the coming weeks, the Kosovo Assembly will get down to work. A President of Kosovo will be elected, and a Government will be installed. The Kosovo authorities who were elected will be responsible for bringing to life the institutions of provisional self-government in compliance with resolution 1244 (1999) and the Constitutional

Framework. The powers conferred on them are very broad, particularly with regard to the daily administration of Kosovo. They must get down to the task of management, with the aim of improving the daily life of all Kosovars. We would like to congratulate them on their election and to wish them success in discharging their mandate. Under the aegis of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, the elected officials must exercise scrupulously the powers vested in them and abide by the provisions of the Constitutional Framework.

The wide participation of the population on election day must be followed by active participation of all segments of Kosovar society in the life of the institutions established by UNMIK. I am thinking particularly of members of the Serb community. In response to the appeals of the Yugoslav authorities and the international community, they went in large numbers to participate in the election and to take their proper place in the Kosovar Assembly. This outcome should encourage the support of all Serb political authorities for the institutions of Kosovo, particularly at the municipal level.

Dialogue and reconciliation must be the key words in the Kosovo of tomorrow. This means that the Government, the Assembly and the Kosovar political authorities all must abide by the customary rules of democratic debate between the majority and the minority. In more general terms, it means that the members of the institutions of self-government, through their statements and their actions, must ensure that all of Kosovo's inhabitants feel at home there. Particular attention should be given to security and the question of the return of members of the Serb community. It would be good if the newly elected authorities expressed themselves clearly and without delay in support of the process of return and actively supported the efforts of the Special Representative to ensure that it is a success.

Moreover, we must deepen dialogue with the Yugoslav authorities. This has been stipulated in resolution 1244 (1999) and the common document signed on 5 November by Mr. Haekkerup and Mr. Ović. The development of dialogue and, beyond that, pragmatic cooperation between UNMIK, the newly elected authorities and the Yugoslav authorities on matters of common concern also serve the well-understood interests of all Kosovars.

Mr. Corr (Ireland): Ireland would also like to express its appreciation to Mr. Annabi for his very helpful briefing this afternoon, particularly his assessment of the elections of 17 November and the next steps to be undertaken. Ireland, of course, agrees fully with the European Union statement which will be delivered later by Belgium.

My delegation welcomes the peaceful and orderly manner in which the elections were held on 17 November, as well as the significant participation of all communities. We believe that these elections mark an important step in the implementation of resolution 1244 (1999) and in the development of a democratic society in Kosovo, based on respect for human rights and the rule of law.

The participation of all communities was essential to ensure wide and effective representation in the institutions of provisional self-government. We join others in commending very warmly the United Nations Secretariat, Special Representative Haekkerup and everyone in the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) for their excellent work in ensuring the success of the elections. This was a task well done. We also appreciate the efforts of KFOR and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and consider that the elections provided an excellent example of inter-institutional cooperation.

The support of the Belgrade authorities and of President Koštunica was important in encouraging many in the Serbian community to vote, and we very much welcome this. We hope that the participation of all minorities in the election will help to facilitate a new phase of cooperation and prepare the ground for the development of a tolerant and multi-ethnic society which safeguards the interests of all communities. It is important that the Serb-controlled areas in the north of Kosovo be integrated into the new framework so that all representatives can focus on representing their communities through constructive participation in the new institutions. This will require close coordination between the Serb community, UNMIK, KFOR and Belgrade.

We hope that all sides will approach with sensitivity and wisdom the negotiations regarding the future coalition and the President. Whatever the outcome of these negotiations, elected leaders will have to assume major responsibilities for the political, economic, social and cultural life of the province. They

must display a responsible attitude vis-à-vis its future status, which includes refraining from making unhelpful public statements. We believe strongly that their new authority must be exercised in strict compliance with resolution 1244 (1999) and with the Constitutional Framework. The provisional institutions should focus immediately on important issues — tangible results, as Mr. Annabi said earlier — such as developing the economy and tackling ongoing crime, and we consider that the training of local administrative staff should be a priority.

Ireland encourages the Special Representative and UNMIK to continue their efforts to implement resolution 1244 (1999) and to make further progress in their work in relation to the important issues of security, justice, refugee returns and missing persons. Ireland is particularly concerned that work in relation to political prisoners, as outlined in the common document of 5 November 2001, should be concluded as rapidly as possible. The newly elected authorities should cooperate fully with UNMIK and engage constructively with the Belgrade authorities, in accordance with the common document.

We believe that the successful development of Kosovo will help to ensure peace and stability in South-Eastern Europe. Along with its partners in the European Union, Ireland will continue to support greater regional cooperation and European integration through the Stability Pact and the Stabilization and Association Process.

Mr. Eldon (United Kingdom): First, I should like to associate myself with the statement which will be made later on in this debate by the representative of Belgium on behalf of the European Union.

The United Kingdom welcomes the successful and peaceful Kosovo Assembly elections on 17 November. We also welcome the participation in significant numbers of all of Kosovo's ethnic communities in the elections. The elections were a landmark in Kosovo's development as a multi-ethnic, democratic and tolerant society. Congratulations are due to Hans Haekkerup and the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and to KFOR for helping to make the elections possible.

However, congratulations must be given most of all to the people of Kosovo. As Ambassador Corr just indicated, it is now up to Kosovo's politicians to take responsibility for governing Kosovo. This will be a significant challenge, but as far as the United Kingdom is concerned, we will do all we possibly can to help them succeed. As part of this, it is essential that all ethnic communities put aside their differences and work together for the sake of Kosovo's future.

The agreement on the UNMIK/Federal Republic of Yugoslavia common document on 5 November was also a significant step, both for Kosovo and for the region. Again, we congratulate Mr. Haekkerup, President Koštunica and Deputy Prime Minister Ćović on this achievement.

We are very much looking forward to the first meeting of the high-ranking working group including representatives of the newly elected institutions. It is clearly important that that particular relationship develop well and soundly, since improved Belgrade-Pristina links are critically important both for regional stability and for economic development. We look to Belgrade, UNMIK and the new provisional institutions to ensure that rapid progress is made in all of the important areas identified in the common document.

But the biggest brake on Kosovo's development as a democratic society is the regional scourge of extremism and organized crime. Kosovo's leaders must do what they can to terminate this threat. As we have said in earlier statements in the Council, combating this challenge must continue to be a top priority for UNMIK, building on the existing progress made.

Mr. Kolby (Norway): I would like to thank Mr. Annabi for his briefing, and to convey my Government's appreciation for the work of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in Kosovo, Mr. Hans Haekkerup.

Norway welcomes the fact that the provincial Assembly elections in Kosovo were conducted in an orderly and largely peaceful manner. We are grateful to the women and men of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and KFOR for the organization of these elections. They reaffirm the international community's commitment to the full implementation of resolution 1244 (1999) and the Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government in Kosovo.

We note that the overall election turnout percentage was somewhat low, especially considering the high turnout at last year's election and the importance of the elections on 17 November for creating meaningful self-government. But, at the same time, a higher number of voters actually went to the polls this year. Election day was also calmer than it was last year.

We were quite encouraged by the overall participation of minorities in the elections, including by the fact that about half of the 170,000 registered Kosovo Serbs eventually turned out to vote. We agree with Mr. Annabi about the importance of the UNMIK/Federal Republic of Yugoslavia common document in achieving that. Norway also commends the efforts of UNMIK and the OSCE in this regard. The leadership in Belgrade and Mr. Ović deserve credit for their role in promoting the participation of Kosovo Serbs.

The election campaign was, unfortunately, not completely free from incidents of intimidation and violence, which were directed mainly at ethnic minorities. There were fewer such incidents than last year, but there can now be no tolerance of ethnic and political violence in Kosovo.

The unsatisfactory situation regarding security and freedom of movement for non-Albanians in Kosovo is obviously one of the reasons why many Kosovo Serbs decided not to vote on election day. It is also a main reason why the number of internally displaced persons returning to Kosovo has so far been limited.

An immediate priority for the newly elected Assembly must now be to ensure a peaceful and normal life for all citizens of Kosovo. The success of the new Assembly will largely be measured by its willingness and ability to improve security and to encourage the return of all internally displaced persons to Kosovo, in accordance with resolution 1244 (1999). Only then can Kosovo have a truly democratic and multi-ethnic society.

Administrative authority will now be gradually transferred to the institutions of self-government. We stress the elected representatives' responsibility for ensuring the continued professionalism and efficiency of its administration.

The Assembly must work closely with UNMIK and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to demonstrate its legitimacy to the people of Kosovo. We also expect the representatives to show the will to work across political and ethnic lines. Cooperation, compromise and reconciliation among all parties is needed to strengthen democracy in Kosovo. Increasing the role of women is also crucial. Like Ambassador Durrant, we welcome the results of the elections in that regard.

We must also ensure that UNMIK is able to fulfil its remaining core responsibilities efficiently and decisively. At the same time, its size and organization should reflect the gradual transfer of authority to the provisional institutions.

Ensuring the rule of law is fundamental for promoting democracy and human rights. Norway will continue to support efforts to build a democratic civil society in Kosovo. This includes the training of local police. We urge that more be done to recruit police cadets from the Kosovo Serb and other minority communities.

The ultimate success of these elections will depend on the implementation of resolution 1244 (1999). This will require close cooperation between the Assembly and UNMIK. With regard to final status, we reiterate that a future decision can be made only after consultations with all involved parties, and in the light of the developments in Kosovo, in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and in the region.

Mr. Rosenblatt (United States): We also would like to thank Mr. Annabi for his briefing, and to congratulate the Special Representative, Mr. Hans Haekkerup, and the Head of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Mission in Kosovo, Mr. Daan Everts, on their success in organizing Kosovo's first general elections. By all accounts, the voting was free and fair and generally devoid of the violence that has plagued the region during the last decade. We are encouraged that Kosovo Serbs and other minorities opted to participate in choosing their Government.

This is not a moment for long speeches about what has been done up to now. The United States has repeatedly expressed its strong support for Special Representative Haekkerup's unceasing efforts to implement resolution 1244 (1999). In many respects, the results of the elections are a testimony to his

success. He has established a framework for democratic and multi-ethnic governance consistent with resolution 1244 (1999). He has improved security, enhanced the rule of law and laid the foundation for a constructive relationship between the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo and the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which played a constructive role in encouraging full participation in the voting on 17 November.

We welcome the efforts of the Coordination Centre and of the Yugoslav and Serbian Governments to help ensure that Kosovo Serbs are represented by competent leaders committed to the multi-ethnic democratic model set forth by this Council. There is no room in Kosovo's future for those from any ethnic group who would support violence and criminality or work in any way to undermine the rule of law and the will of the people. Today we should direct our remarks to the people of Kosovo, who should be congratulated, and to their elected leaders, who face the challenge of delivering good governance.

Prosperity will not be sustainable without difficult economic reforms and strict respect for transparency and the rule of law. Declarations on Kosovo's future status are not the answer. The Council and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General have established the rules of the game and expressed their unwavering support for resolution 1244 (1999) in its entirety.

We call on the new Government to rise to the challenge before it and to work constructively with all people of Kosovo to build a secure, democratic and prosperous future for all its residents.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Jamaica.

Let me express my delegation's appreciation to Assistant Secretary-General Hédi Annabi for his briefing. We also wish to pay tribute to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Hans Haekkerup, for the leadership he provided to the electoral process in Kosovo and to the tireless efforts of the men and women of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and KFOR. UNMIK's work in Kosovo over the past two years has charted a course from what seemed to be insurmountable challenges to widespread progress throughout the territory.

At the beginning of last year, the main concern of the Council was the security situation and violence against minority groups. Peaceful coexistence seemed an insurmountable challenge. Work on the judicial system and law enforcement initiatives had just begun. A large number of refugees could not return to their homes. UNMIK has worked tirelessly to improve the situation in Kosovo, and the Security Council missions to Kosovo in April 2000 and in June of this year gave the Council an opportunity to witness the progress and to provide valuable input.

We have seen significant changes in the security situation, from a territory where ethnic strife prevailed and on which an arms embargo had been imposed to one in which elections could be held without incident in an atmosphere of calm and in which border crossings and weapons controls have been put in place.

We have also witnessed steady progress in the development of law enforcement and in the return of refugees. Improvements have also been made with regard to missing persons and towards reconciliation. We were therefore gratified that this progress culminated in the successful holding of elections in Kosovo on 17 November, and we are pleased that the elections were conducted in an atmosphere that was relatively calm and free of violence.

We are also pleased that there was significant participation of the minority communities, including Kosovo Serbs residing within and outside of Kosovo. We have always stressed the importance of the participation of all communities in the governance of Kosovo in order to create viable democratic institutions. We appreciate the attention given to ensuring the participation of minority communities and the response to the appeals made by the Security Council, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbian authorities.

We take this opportunity to congratulate the Democratic League of Kosovo on obtaining a majority of the votes and welcome the creation of a new representative assembly, made up of 14 parties and which will include the 22 seats that will be allocated to the Return Coalition.

We are optimistic that a strong foundation has been created for a viable and sustainable system of government, and we encourage all the parties in the assembly to work together in a spirit of cooperation and compromise within a multi-ethnic framework.

Following the success of the elections and the progress made so far in implementing resolution 1244 (1999), we can now look forward to the formation of the government and to the further transfer of authority to the people of Kosovo.

The role of the United Nations in Kosovo is elaborated in resolution 1244 (1999). This resolution also makes provision for substantial autonomy and meaningful self-administration, and we emphasize that there must be strict adherence to its provisions. As Mr. Annabi reminded us, UNMIK now has to make sure that provisional self-government becomes a reality, and the international community must therefore continue to support UNMIK's efforts to promote peace, reconciliation and stability and to create viable democratic institutions.

Our focus must return to unresolved issues that demand our attention, including those relating to refugees, displaced persons and detainees, the security situation in Mitrovica and the overall law and order situation in Kosovo. We also need to increase efforts to create a viable and sustainable economy in Kosovo. We remain concerned about these issues and urge all involved to continue to work diligently to achieve a lasting solution. We agree with the Ambassador of Bangladesh, who pointed out that civil society, including women's groups, must be an integral part of this process.

UNMIK has made good progress on the implementation of initiatives that would provide greater protection for minority communities and facilitate the return of refugees and internally displaced persons. Work must continue on the creation of a safe and secure environment, with an acceptable level of freedom of movement for returnees. UNMIK's efforts to improve law and order and to reduce crime and violence are crucial to the return process and to the overall stability of Kosovo. We therefore appreciate the attention being given to tackling organized crime and to streamlining police and judicial institutions.

My delegation is particularly encouraged by the improvement in relations between UNMIK and the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This close collaboration proved important to the election process and contributed to the high level of Serb participation. We must now build on this momentum to ensure widespread Serb participation in the institutions of self-government and in future elections in Kosovo. We have maintained that only through dialogue can obstacles to the improvement of relations with Serbia and the advancement of reconciliation in Kosovo be overcome. The benefits of frequent dialogue with the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are now clearly evident and should continue to be facilitated. We are hopeful that the signing of the common document on 5 November will indeed provide a solid basis for a cooperative relationship between UNMIK and the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and contribute to stability in South-Eastern Europe.

This morning the Security Council was briefed by the Presidents and Prosecutor of the International Tribunals for Yugoslavia and Rwanda. We welcome the progress being made in the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and the impact that this process can have on reconciliation efforts in Kosovo, and we wish to stress the importance of providing adequate resources for its work.

In conclusion, let me congratulate the people of Kosovo for the important steps that they have taken this month. We assure them of our continued support and commitment as they seek to improve their quality of life and overcome the challenges of creating a multi-ethnic society.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Belgium, whom I invite to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. De Loecker (Belgium) *(spoke in French)*: I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia — and the associated countries Cyprus, Malta and Turkey, as well as Liechtenstein, European Free Trade Association member country of the European Economic Area, align themselves with this statement.

Above all, let me first thank Assistant Secretary-General Hédi Annabi for reporting to us on the latest developments on the situation in Kosovo. For several months now, the attention and energy of the international community have been directed at a major development in the implementation of resolution 1244

(1999) — namely, the elections in Kosovo on 17 November 2001.

The European Union is pleased at the peaceful and orderly manner in which the elections took place and at the level of participation by the voters. This is a decisive step in the democratic development of Kosovo and a sign for the region as a whole that peace is won at the ballot box — not at gunpoint.

We warmly congratulate all the candidates and political parties on their results in the elections. The elected candidates of Kosovo will now have to assume their considerable responsibilities in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. The European Union calls upon them to exercise their new authority with wisdom and responsibility, in scrupulous compliance with resolution 1244 (1999) and within the constitutional framework for provisional autonomy. It falls to them, among other things, to ensure the prosperous and stable development of their province, while respecting and safeguarding the interests of all the communities without exception. In this task, they will have the support and assistance of the European Union.

The Council has on many occasions been witness to our appeals to all the communities to take part in these elections. It is therefore with great satisfaction that we have noted the turnout of all the constituent elements of Kosovo society in the elections. That participation is an essential condition for ensuring their appropriate and effective representation in the new, democratically elected provisional institutions. The turnout of the Serb community of Kosovo, but also the participation of those Serbs who voted from Serbia and Montenegro, is significant. We expect them all to play an active part in the work of the new institutions.

This turnout for the elections makes the coalition of Kosovo Serbs the third largest group in the new assembly. Such plurality of representation is turning that assembly into the foundation for future cooperation between all the ethnic groups in the provisional institutions and augurs well for the development of a multi-ethnic, tolerant and prosperous society. In this regard, we should like to reassure the Belgrade authorities, and President Koštunica in particular, of our appreciation for the appeal they made to the Serb community in Kosovo to take part in the ballot.

We also welcome the signing of a joint document between Belgrade and the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) concerning cooperation in matters of common interest that the elected authorities of Kosovo are called upon to develop with the Mission and the Belgrade authorities. With the support of that agreement, the formation of the new assembly and the provisional institutions will now enable us to look ahead and to build a multi-ethnic Kosovo on a firm foundation in the context of resolution 1244 (1999) and the constitutional framework for provisional autonomy.

The questions of security, the return of refugees and displaced persons (IDPs) and the search for missing persons must also be resolved as quickly as possible. Concerning the returns, some progress has been achieved recently, but should be done, and done better. Moreover, the improvement of the security conditions is as indispensable for increased returns as for the full participation of all communities in the new institutions. The international community should continue to focus its attention on this question.

Finally, the authorities elected on 17 November should ensure a harmonious and democratic development of the province for the benefit of all communities of Kosovo but also of the stability of the entire region of South-Eastern Europe. This development should be consistent with the principle of regional ownership following an approach that, thanks to the concomitant action of the Stability Pact and the stabilization and association process, should promote regional cooperation and allow South-Eastern Europe to move closer to the structures of the European Union.

Allow me to end my statement by congratulating those who have made these elections a success, above all the population of Kosovo, but also the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr Hans Haekkerup; all the UNMIK staff; the staff of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe; and those who have contributed, either directly or indirectly, to the organization of that important day.

Mr. Šahović (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia): At the outset, I would like to thank Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. Annabi, for his detailed briefing.

My Government considers the 17 November elections in Kosovo and Metohija a very important event in the process of implementation of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999), which will lead the

province to a multi-ethnic society in which equal rights will be enjoyed by all. We are satisfied that the elections, in spite of the prevailing grave situation, took place in a manner that can be generally characterized as peaceful and orderly. The clear signals of the international community that violence would not be tolerated as a method for achieving political goals, together with the engagement of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and KFOR, contributed to such an outcome.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, for its part, has made a significant contribution to the satisfactory conclusion of the electoral process, both in the preparatory phase, including registration, and during the actual elections. As a result, the Serbian community in Kosovo and Metohija and the internally displaced persons accepted the call of President Koštunica and the Yugoslav and Serbian Governments to vote. Members of the Council are well aware that this was not a simple call to make. The decision of the members of the Serbian community from the province to participate was not easy either.

Such a decision would not have been possible without the common document signed by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and UNMIK on 5 November this year. This document is important not only as a comprehensive catalogue of the problems that need to be addressed through permanent and intensive dialogue among all concerned but, perhaps even more, as a framework of future concrete cooperation between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and UNMIK.

Now, in the aftermath of the elections, we should not forget the extremely difficult conditions that Serbs and other non-Albanians have been facing over the past years and that, regrettably, they continue to face as we speak. As the Council has repeatedly confirmed, the security situation of non-Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija is highly unsatisfactory. Violence and intimidation continue. Just a few days ago, on 22 November, we witnessed yet another terrorist attack on Serbs in the village Obilić. An innocent elderly woman was killed instantaneously. Her husband was seriously wounded. Throughout Kosovo and Metohija, there is still little or no freedom of movement for Serbs. Fewer than 100 of 250,000 internally displaced persons have been able to return in the two and a half years since the arrival of UNMIK and KFOR. The fate of more than 1,300 missing persons is still unknown. There is discrimination against minorities in the judiciary. Property is continuously being usurped.

In spite of all these adverse conditions and the many dilemmas stemming from them, the Serbian community has shown its willingness to participate in the intricate process of articulating the future of Kosovo and Metohija through the provisional institutions of self-government. Joint efforts by and equitable treatment of representatives of all ethnic communities in these institutions should provide a basis to address and begin to gradually resolve the numerous problems the province is currently experiencing. That would be the best way to demonstrate that peace, democracy, freedom and orientation towards Europe are realistic objectives for all ethnic groups and their political representatives in Kosovo and Metohija.

We are all aware that the November elections represent the beginning of a new phase in creating a future for Kosovo and Metohija — a phase, we hope, that will be characterized by constructive efforts on all sides to bring, first, security and political stability and, then, democracy and prosperity to the province. It is clear that these were not elections meant to solve the final status of Kosovo and Metohija. The Security Council and the international community as a whole have repeatedly emphasized the necessity of the full respect of resolution 1244 (1999), which guarantees the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This resolution continues to be the sole basis for the consideration of the future status of Kosovo and Metohija.

Regrettably, before the official election results were even known, some of the local Albanian politicians called on the international community to recognize the independence of Kosovo and Metohija. We consider this to be, to say the least, counterproductive. In the present fragile situation, restraint needs to be exercised, particularly by those who will hold high office in the provisional institutions of self-government. It is not cheap propaganda that is needed now, but constructive efforts by all to make the provisional institutions of self-government credible, efficient and effective. It should be clearly understood that the elected representatives in Kosovo and Metohija are actually facing a test of their political maturity. They have an enormous responsibility to prove that democratic forces are taking over from the forces of violence and destruction.

We therefore expect the Security Council, as well as the United Nations Administration in Kosovo and Metohija, to ensure that the newly elected leadership takes no steps to dash renewed hopes for viable multi-ethnicity in that troubled area. In this context, let me reiterate that we highly appreciate the engagement of the Security Council in these past months, from the June visit to Belgrade and Pristina to the October and November presidential statements. We also hope that such an approach will be maintained.

For our part, I would once again like to underline the commitment of my Government to working closely with UNMIK, the Security Council and the international community as a whole on creating a peaceful, multi-ethnic Kosovo and Metohija as an important precondition for achieving overall stability in the region.

The President: I call on Assistant Secretary-General Annabi to respond to the comments made and questions raised.

Mr. Annabi: I should like to point out first to Council members that we have a couple of fact-sheets on the results of the elections, which contain useful statistics and which we will be happy to make available to members who may wish to have it.

I will also be happy to convey to Mr. Haekkerup the words of appreciation expressed around this table today for his work and the work of his colleagues on the ground in the preparation and successful conduct of the elections.

I think that there was only one specific question. Ambassador Mahbubani of Singapore asked whether there was an explanation for the reduction in the number of those voting within the ethnic Albanian community. The participation of the Albanian community in the voting was around 65 per cent, as I indicated, which is somewhat lower than the participation in the municipal elections last year, but is still of course a very respectable percentage and higher than what we see in a number of countries whose democratic credentials are well established. The overall number of voters was also significantly higher than last year. We had 1,250,000 this year, as opposed to just under or around 1 million voters last year.

Having said that, the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) believes that the lower percentage in the participation of the ethnic Albanian community in the recent elections can be accounted for in part by the fact that a number of Kosovo Albanians returned to register for the elections during the summer, but then did not come back to vote in November. There are, of course, probably other reasons for the somewhat lower turnout, but I think that what is important is the fact that all communities participated in the voting in the recent elections. That lends credibility to the electoral process itself and to the efforts of UNMIK and the international community to establish real and sustainable institutions for provisional self-government, which is, of course, a major objective under resolution 1244 (1999).

The elections themselves were not an end in themselves, but an important milestone in the process of establishing these provisional institutions, which, if it is to be sustainable, is a process that will require time and further efforts by UNMIK and the international community.

The President: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.